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Faith-ful Citizens? Christian Churches and Social Cohesion in Scotland

Cecelia Clegg

Many months ago when I was first invited to write this article, I had in mind a piece on the contribution of faith communities to civic life in Scotland. But the attack on Glasgow Airport in June 2007 significantly shifted my focus towards the role of faith communities, in particular the Christian community, in creating and maintaining social cohesion. Moreover, it revealed to me a potentially destructive hole in my cosy, liberal view of life in Scotland. It showed that I had ‘boxed’ terrorism and its associated issues as something that happened elsewhere in these islands. The attempted bombing helped me to realise how little I had really reflected on some of the difficult implications of the Scottish Government’s Fresh Talent initiative,¹ which aims to attract young people to Scotland to re-balance a demographic which is currently tilted towards an increasingly elderly population. There has been in the past and there is now a steady influx of minority ethnic and religious groups into Scottish society. The airport attack made me ponder what Christian churches are doing to aid the integration of people and peoples so that positive social cohesion can be promoted and violence, particularly religiously-motivated violence, becomes less likely.

In the midst of my musings it dawned on me that I am still in some measure of denial that the society that I call home is rapidly changing and that this change calls forth a new response from me and from the Christian churches. I realized that, despite considerable effort, I am still sometimes operating from a paradigm of Scottish society as largely white, largely European, and largely Christian. I suspect that my experience is not unique in the Christian community. With this in mind, I propose to explore some of the issues around the relationship between religion and social cohesion; what it means to be faith-ful citizens in Scotland today. This paper is addressed particularly to the Christian community, but always in relation to other faith communities.

The wider context of our situation is the fact that, faced with one of the most religiously diverse societies in Europe,² the UK government through measures such as the Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000)³ is trying to develop a more pluralist society. Increased engagement at different levels of government, together with a new crop of research suggest that faith communities are being seen more and more as important agents in building and sustaining peaceful civil society.⁴ While this is in some senses good and necessary, it is not a straightforwardly positive situation for faith communities. There are questions about how far co-operation with government means that faith groups are buying into government agendas. It also raises concerns among secular groups, as the recent report by the British Humanist Association shows.⁵ Moreover, it means that more attention needs to be given by faith communities themselves to how to promote and develop social cohesion in a context of often irreconcilable, though not necessarily divisive, religious difference.

Scotland has been changing over decades. There are already Scottish citizens of Asian, American, African, other European or Oceanian descent, many Scots born, and they are of a variety of faiths: Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian, Jewish, Buddhist, and Baha'i. There are also significant numbers of incoming citizens who are, for example, white and Muslim. Traditional religious-ethnic boundaries are becoming blurred. Recently, Na'eem Raza, President of the Muslim Society of Britain (Glasgow) projected that by 2050 the majority of Scottish Muslims will be white Europeans.⁶ Doubtless as secularization increases, significant numbers of people of various faiths will, like substantial groups of previously Christian people, opt to give up religious faith completely.⁷ This process is currently much slower for other faiths than for Christianity.

The changes raise some critical questions for Christians in Scotland, as elsewhere in Britain. In the face of this new diversity how are we witnessing to the inclusive and reconciling love of God? What role should Christians, who are still the majority in society, play in creating and maintaining social cohesion? A complicating factor in these considerations in Scotland, of course, is the troubled history of

managing relationships with those with whom we disagree religiously, even within the Christian community.

In this paper I am going to address some of these questions by considering briefly: (1) issues to do with religious intolerance and sectarianism as forms of handling religious difference badly and which need to be addressed in any strategy for social cohesion; (2) the relationships between and contributions of faith communities in Scotland; and (3) the Christian churches' mission of reconciliation and inclusion.



Religious intolerance and sectarianism

Scotland has a history of religious intolerance and sectarianism between Protestant and Catholic groups. It is a history that the government and other agencies think that we have not yet fully moved beyond, though there are significant initiatives underway to bring that about.⁸ It was interesting to note at a recent conference on sectarianism and the Christian churches⁹ that, unlike Bruce et al. and Michael Rosie,¹⁰ none of the delegates, who were drawn from a wide range of churches and church-related social agencies, disputed the reality of sectarianism as a significant past reality. Only one person raised a query about whether or not it is being blown out of proportion by the attention it is being given today. A number of workshop presenters from a variety of areas talked about how they have to shape their services and approaches to take into account the damage that sectarian division causes. The sense in the conference seemed to be that sectarianism is less extensive and less obvious today than in the past, but that it has not gone away.

Despite the agreement about the presence and effect of sectarianism there was little discussion of how people actually understood the term. This is a matter of concern because having a clear understanding of different facets of the phenomenon of religious intolerance is going to be essential for the society and the churches in devising strategies for moving beyond it towards deeper social cohesion. It seems to me that there are two main areas of difficulty: (1) the conflation of sectarianism with generic religious intolerance; and (2) the lack of

distinction between sectarianism in its sociology of religions version and sectarianism as it is manifest in the phenomenon we talk about in Scotland today.

Religious intolerance is about opposing or, more likely, fearing people because of their religious beliefs and practices. It may, but need not, have a tangible expression. It can be simply an attitude or mindset, and is essentially a clash of beliefs and prejudices. Of course, it is often accompanied by bigotry or violence. But it is perfectly possible to fear or oppose what a group stands for in terms of religious belief but accord them every freedom and equality of the ordinary citizen in society. In other words, it is possible to be religiously intolerant without necessarily being either discriminatory or abusive. In religious intolerance, strictly speaking we are dealing with a clash of world views. Having no stated religious views does not automatically remove a person from the realm of religious intolerance. Someone can be an atheist and be religiously intolerant towards Protestants or Jews etc. and vice versa.

Sectarianism, on the other hand, while it can have this type of expression, can also have a much wider, more complex and more pervasive manifestation. **One of the original definitions of sectarianism** was given by German political economist and sociologist, Max Weber, who developed a church-sect distinction that was later taken up by German theologian, Ernst Troeltsch.¹¹ In this sociology of religions version the difference is between a church or major religious grouping and a sect, seen as a much smaller, intentional group of the same denomination which has very specific beliefs and aims. It is an intra-group differentiation which is based around religious beliefs and practices. In Christian terms for example, the Society of St Pius X may be viewed as a Roman Catholic sect, established by Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre and adhering to pre-Vatican II Catholic traditions.¹² In Islam, one example would be seen in the differences between some Shia and Sunni Muslim groups.

The sectarianism that we talk most about in Scotland, on the other hand, always has to do with a malign conjunction between religious

affiliation, but not necessarily beliefs, and political (with a small ‘p’) or economic power, on the basis of which groups oppose, discriminate against or abuse the ‘other.’ For example, discrimination against Catholics in the job market in Scotland during the last century. This type of sectarianism can involve religious beliefs, but it is more often the mere fact of affiliation, or (as Bruce et al. point out) believed affiliation,¹³ to a religion which is one of the triggers. It is usually linked with political or economic concerns about having to share limited resources in society, be it political power or influence, wealth, jobs, housing, etc. To apply the label ‘religious sectarianism’ to this phenomenon is misleading because it is as much about politics, power and economics as it is about religion.¹⁴

The destructive patterns of relating associated with this type of sectarianism include:

- hardening boundaries between people
- overlooking people
- belittling, dehumanising or demonising people
- excluding or discriminating against people
- physically attacking or intimidating people.¹⁵

From this list it is apparent that it is possible to be sectarian and not to be bigoted. For example, a history teacher may simply omit important sections of the history of one part of the population, be they Catholic or Protestant, which would give a deeper understanding of, or perhaps a more sympathetic image of, that community. There is no bigotry in this action, it is a case of overlooking the other community, but it is certainly sectarian in both intent and effect.

Much attention in Scotland is given to the sectarianism associated with football, especially the ‘Old Firm’ matches. But I worry a lot less about the gross, often alcohol-fuelled sectarianism that exists around football than I do about polite, educated versions. Sectarianism in football is ugly and violent but it is visible and clearly not socially acceptable. The more polite versions often hide under a cloak of silence or respectability and are extremely difficult to prove or to confront. For

example, if an employer fails to give a staff member the type or range of tasks that will develop his or her skills or advance her or his career it would be difficult to prove that this was deliberate discrimination. Or take the example of a joke with sectarian overtones which is told by the host at a dinner party which leaves a person choosing between embarrassing the host or betraying their own integrity. This type of ‘polite’ sectarian attitude which can exist at all levels of society may appear minor but it subtly maintains an ethos which keeps the divide in place. It is only in consistently tackling such behaviour that a society really begins to move beyond sectarianism.

I have taken time to tease out the understanding of these terms because the recent past history and ongoing difficulties about sectarianism make Scotland vulnerable to a potential escalation of the phenomenon beyond the Catholic-Protestant divide into inter faith and inter ethnic divisions. Fundamentally, sectarianism arises when concepts of identity and belonging become distorted into being ‘over against’ the other and issues of power and control of resources become negatively mixed with religious affiliation. It is clear from the limited success of the ecumenical movement over the last one hundred years that Christian groups have not yet learned to live positively and openly with religious difference even among their own denominations. Whilst sectarianism in Scotland is currently identified with Catholic-Protestant relations it is increasingly likely that as minority religious and ethnic groups grow and begin to stake their claim within society pressure on resources will increase, opening up the possibility that they will become the victims, and possibly also perpetrators, of sectarian behaviour and not simply generic religious intolerance.



Faith communities: relationships and contributions

It is difficult to get a coherent picture of the state of faith communities and their relationships within Scotland. There has not yet been a comprehensive mapping exercise which would provide such information. The study of the relationship between seven faith communities¹⁶ and government in Glasgow that I completed with Michael Rosie in 2005 gives one of the few recent indicative pictures

of the largest concentration of faith communities in Scotland.¹⁷ It does not, of course, take into account inter faith activity in other centres around Scotland.¹⁸ This study, which involved focus groups, interviews and statistical mapping, provided baseline information for the appointment of the first Inter Faith liaison officer attached to a Local Authority in Scotland.¹⁹

It is neither possible nor desirable to explore the whole study here. Rather I am going to select a number of features of general interest in the present discussion as a way of exemplifying the Scottish situation using Glasgow as an example. These focus on (1) a general sense of the ethos in Glasgow society with regard to religious groups; (2) some issues faced when trying to contribute to public life; (3) the preparedness of faith communities to enter into inter faith or multi faith relationships;²⁰ and (4) the question of how inclusive is provision of public services in Glasgow.

First, most faith communities reported a change in the atmosphere in Glasgow following the attack on the World Trade Centre in 2001. Up to that point those from minority ethnic groups, especially Muslims, had felt reasonably well accepted in the city and such abuse as there was tended to be racial not religious in content. After 9/11 attacks are reported as being more frequent and religiously rather than racially motivated. All faith groups identified the Muslim community as being under most pressure in the city. It was also true, however, that the Jewish, Hindu and Sikh communities were being attacked. Not surprisingly, the tension has increased since the attempted bombings of June 2007. There is, then, evidence of a tilt towards more violent religious intolerance which needs to be addressed now if social cohesion is to be maintained and developed.

Second, in the study all faith communities declared themselves very willing to be involved in public life. It was apparent in the conversations that the Muslim community was the most reticent to engage. Other groups suggested that increased pressure in the face of global terror attacks might account for this stance. Some members of the Muslim community, however, reported that they had experienced

other groups rebuffing their attempts to reach out or putting up barriers when they wanted to contribute. The reasons for the rebuffs were not given but this raises a question about the level of openness in the general population to those who are perceived as very different. Moreover, there is some evidence of ignorance of Muslim beliefs and way of life, even among those who are working to improve inter faith relations.²¹ The issue of ignorance about faith communities, however, is more extensive than this; most Christian groups in the study felt that knowledge of their actual beliefs and way of life could no longer be assumed in the general population.

A number of faith communities, especially Christians and those with large numbers of minority ethnic adherents, felt that their potential contribution to society was under-utilised and that this was largely due to lack of knowledge of their culture and traditions or suspicion of their motives on the part of Glasgow City Council staff. Part of their discouragement related, at the time, to a sense that there was an element of ‘tokenism’ in the way that the Council involved them in decision-making. For example, two groups reported being brought into processes late when there was little possibility of influencing the outcome. An example like this stands in sharp contrast to the concerns of secular groups, like the British Humanist Association, that government is becoming too involved with and giving too much influence to faith communities.

Third, the study showed a lack of both willingness and leadership in some faith communities for developing stronger inter faith or multi faith relationships. This was compounded by a lack of infrastructure between communities. In terms of willingness, the exceptions were the Baha’i and Jewish communities who seem very actively involved in most areas. On the other hand, one of the smaller Christian groups voiced a real hesitation about engaging at all with other faith communities; the reasons cited were doctrinal. It is clear that many churches and denominations are still so mesmerized by overcoming sectarianism and struggling towards Christian ecumenism, or by the task of fending off divisions within their own denominations that inter faith issues and their related aspects of community cohesion are

quite far down the agenda. The sporadic or patchy engagement of the majority Christian community with inter faith or multi faith activity does not augur well for advancing work on social cohesion. This is especially true since the Christian community appear to have most to 'lose' in terms of their formerly privileged position in Scotland.

The study showed that while there are formal relationships between the senior leadership of faith communities, people on the ground describe a significant lack of both structure and contact in many local areas. If such a lacuna is allowed to continue the effect will be to render almost impossible a widespread change in attitudes to those who are religiously different; this type of work depends on regular and significant local interaction. The authority and approbation of the leaders of the various faith groups will be critical in overcoming resistance to closer relationship. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that some faith communities (e.g. Muslims and Sikhs) have no overall leadership structure to which others can refer. So actually knowing who to contact in faith groups can be difficult. There are currently moves to form an overarching Muslim Council in Scotland which should significantly improve the possibilities of communication with that community.

Amid these difficulties there are also some very hopeful signs in terms of both inter faith and multi faith work in Scotland. The Scottish Inter Faith Council (SIFC) has a very lively youth programme as well as a range of other activities.²² Edinburgh Inter-Faith Association²³ leads a vibrant range of inter faith activities, in particular those for Inter-Faith Week, and is involved in the annual Edinburgh Festival of Middle Eastern Spirituality and Peace.²⁴ In terms of multi faith work, there are relationships developing between a number of social agencies around Scotland, especially those which deal with community development and tackling poverty and exclusion. A recent conference, *Faith in Regeneration* organised by Communities Scotland in partnership with Faith in Community Scotland,²⁵ was the first such gathering of these groups. These activities, however, do not attract the majority of people in the Christian churches and this presents a difficulty in any approach to improving social cohesion.

Lastly, the study showed a lack of provision of services on a basis in which diversity is the norm, even within a local authority like Glasgow City Council which is trying hard and creatively, with limited resources, to meet the needs of its varied religious-ethnic groups. Diverse service provision as normative means that an organisation will provide culturally and religiously appropriate services as their mainstream approach and not as a ‘special’ exception to an otherwise set menu of options. So for example hospitals or care homes with catchments that have a variety of religious-ethnic populations would have food menus that have appropriate religious-ethnic choices, like kosher, or no garlic, as standard and not as special options. If this approach is to be taken seriously it will require a fundamental change of mindset which may well take generations to embed, particularly among the Christian, or formerly Christian, white, Scottish majority. To bring about such change will take systemic and whole organisation approaches to changing the ethos of the society.

Moreover this change, more than any other will feel like ‘loss’ to the average white, Scots-born, Christian person. Already within the Glasgow study it was clear that Christian groups felt aggrieved about being sidelined by government in favour of other communities, especially the Muslims. Indeed, there was some level of resentment also from the Hindu community about the amount of attention being paid to Islam. Local Christian leaders tended to rationalise the movement as an over-emphasis in the first efforts of the authorities to be inclusive. If, as it must, this becomes the norm, it will be a huge challenge for Christians to adapt to the situation and their anger and grief may be less positively expressed.

But diverse social provision as normative is part of the bedrock of equality and social cohesion in any society. It means taking religious-ethnic difference seriously and incorporating it into life at the most practical level, that of social provision. Alternative strategies for dealing with difference which is perceived as threatening, such as assimilation,²⁶ exclusion, or annihilation,²⁷ are neither Christian nor tenable.²⁸ Not even ‘benign apartheid,’ in which communities operate in separate spheres only conversing over issues to do with common

life, is a viable option; it is notoriously unstable and falls far short of a Christian ideal of relationship.²⁹



Christian churches and social cohesion

So far in this paper I have passed over in silence the thorny doctrinal issues of Christian relationship with a group of another faith. I have done so designedly because working together on the issue of social cohesion does not require us to engage in doctrinal debate. It requires only that we develop positive social relationships through which we can help to build the kind of society we want. Achieving social cohesion does not imply agreement or uniformity of thought and approach but rather the capacity to relate positively with those who are different. Christian churches have tremendous theological and social resources for meeting this challenge. Theologically they are summed up in the ministry of reconciliation to which Jesus Christ calls us; socially they rest in the long Christian tradition of helping those who are marginalised or excluded.

The challenge in this instance will be first to mobilise these resources and then to live these ideals through a complete paradigm shift in ourselves and our ‘home’ territory. The task ahead is not about going out as reconcilers to some foreign place from a home base to which we can return. Nor is it about going out from our offices or churches to change the situation for some of the poor and marginalised people in Scotland. It is about fundamentally re-orientating Scottish society. There will be no unchanged place on which to stand or to which to retreat, except perhaps our relationship with God and even that will likely have altered.

The mission of reconciliation is recognised as being at the heart of Christian life through God’s gracious offer of salvation in Christ. The World Council of Churches (WCC) describes that mission as being to bring all the elements of creation into union under God.³⁰ Paul, reflecting on the saving event of God in Christ, regards the work of the Church as a continuation of that movement of reconciliation: ‘All this is from God, who reconciled us to himself through Christ, and has



given us the ministry of reconciliation.’³¹ Much depends, of course, on how the concept of ‘reconciliation’ is understood. If it is viewed as exclusively about reconciling human beings with God, leaving aside the levels of reconciliation between human beings and between humans and the rest of creation, then it opens the door to distinctly non-reconciling attitudes and action. These can include trying to annihilate those considered to be heretics or the use of various forms of lethal force to compel people to convert to Christianity or to the aggressor’s particular understanding of Christianity.³²

For the purposes of this paper I am defining reconciliation generically as:

the processes and structures necessary to bring all the elements of the cosmos into positive and life-giving relationship with God and with one another. It is a vision of both an ongoing process to establish a community of love in which conflict and injustice, though still present, are being actively addressed, and the eschatological goal of cosmic communion in love being definitively achieved.³³

At its simplest, then, reconciliation is God’s gift of open, loving and life-giving relationship between parties for whom difference or enmity is a barrier. It cannot be conjured up by any human group; the most that we can do is to create the conditions for it to happen. The path towards it for faith-ful Scottish citizens will include learning to see the ‘other’ as part of the ‘we’ of Scottish society. As Christian churches we need to acknowledge and act on the fact that we have a lot in common with people of other faith traditions, especially about the kind of values we want to see underpinning our society. It is not about ‘them’ and ‘us’ but rather about ‘us’ and ‘us.’ It is not about agonisingly trying to hammer out statements of faith, but rather about sharing our passion for God and for the fullness of life which comes through faith. For Christians there is a double movement involved here: seeing other Christian denominations as ‘us’ and at the same time seeing other faiths as ‘us.’ Being ‘us’ will depend at local level on

having structures that facilitate communication and interaction and, at all levels, leadership that authorises the activity as being central to the mission of the Church.

Of course, being ‘us’ presupposes that we know one another. Given the apparent ignorance of other faiths among our members this will necessitate a significant education process which needs to be undertaken systematically through all the activities of congregational life especially preaching and teaching. If the Christian contribution to promoting social cohesion is to be really effective, inter and multi faith issues must become a mainstream concern. Such an approach, since it requires us to learn to relate positively to a high level of difference and to understand ourselves in these conversations as belonging to one faith group, Christians, may, paradoxically, have positive spin off effects on intra-Christian dialogue.

In addition to changes in relationship in the inter-religious forum, in the public sphere Scottish churches and faith communities need to be both more proactive and more assertive of their role. It is extraordinary and worrying that in the Scottish Government action plan on sectarianism the main actions in the section entitled ‘Faith’ are being led by the Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations (SCVO) and the National Union of Students.³⁴ The ‘us’ of faith communities in Scotland have tremendous resources and experience: intellectual, social, theological and practical to contribute to social cohesion and to tackling both sectarianism in its widest sense and religious intolerance generally. Not to take a leading role in such activities is an abdication of responsibility for which government and other parts of society could rightly condemn us. Being faith-ful citizens requires us to use the giftedness of our communities for the good of the society. Being faith-ful citizens in a time of social cohesion under threat, obliges us to make sure that the ‘us’ which uses our giftedness is an inclusive ‘us’ as a vision of love and faith overcoming ignorance and difference.

- ¹ See Scottish Government portal at <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Government/Promoting-Scotland/18738>.
- ² 'The UK is now one of the most religiously diverse areas of Europe in terms of the number of different faiths with substantial communities here.' *Local Inter Faith Activity in the UK: A Survey* (London: Inter Faith Network for the UK, 2003), 1.
- ³ <http://www.hmso.gov.uk/acts/acts2000/20000034.htm> [accessed on 3 December 2007].
- ⁴ For example, Robert Furbey et al., *Faith as Social Capital* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2006) and the Mercia Group, *Review of the Evidence Base on Faith Communities* (London: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2006) available at: <http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/review> [accessed on 1 August 2007].
- ⁵ British Humanist Association, *Quality and Equality: Human Rights, Public Services and Religious Organisations*, available at <http://tinyurl.com/25w2hb> [accessed on 29 November 2007].
- ⁶ Na'eem Raza, *Weaving the Tartan: The New Scots*, Baillie Memorial Lecture, New College, Edinburgh, 27 November 2007.
- ⁷ Census 2001 figures show that 22.7% of the population of Scotland claim no religious affiliation. See Cecelia Clegg and Michael Rosie, *Faith Communities and Local Government in Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Social Research Series, 2005), p. 58, Table 1.1(a); also web version available at <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2005/11/08142443/24513>.
- ⁸ For example, Scottish Government, *Sectarianism: Action Plan on Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland*, January 2006, <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2006/01/26134908/0> [accessed 28 November 2007]; *Sense Over Sectarianism*, <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/en/Residents/GoingtoSchool/Welfareissuesinschool/SenseOverSectarianism/> [accessed 30 November 2007]; *Nil By Mouth*, <http://www.nilbymouth.org/index.htm> [accessed 30 November 2007].
- ⁹ *Part of the Solution: Churches and Tackling Sectarianism Conference*, 26 November 07, organised by the Scottish Churches Parliamentary Office and the Roman Catholic Church Parliamentary Office and supported by the Scottish Government.

- ¹⁰ **Steve Bruce et al.**, *Sectarianism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004) and Michael Rosie, *The Sectarian Myth in Scotland: Of Bitter Memory and Bigotry* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
- ¹¹ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (trans. T. Parsons; New York: Scribner's, 1930); Ernst Troeltsch, "Sect-Type and Church-Type Contrasted," in *Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (trans. O. Wyon; New York: Macmillan, 1931).
- ¹² Society of St Pius X in Britain, <http://www.sspx.co.uk/> [accessed 3 December 2007].
- ¹³ Bruce et al. note that people may be assigned an affiliation that they would not claim for themselves: **Bruce et al.**, *Sectarianism in Scotland*, 5.
- ¹⁴ This is the position take by the writers of the online resource *Sectarianism: Don't Give it, Don't take it*: <http://www.ltsotland.org.uk/antisectionarian/whatIsSectarianism/aboutsectarianism/guidetosectionarianism/index.asp> [accessed 3 December 2007].
- ¹⁵ See a comprehensive definition of sectarianism in Joseph Liechty and Cecelia Clegg, *Moving Beyond Sectarianism: Religion, Conflict and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland* (Dublin: Columba Press, 2001), 102–103.
- ¹⁶ Christian, Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jewish and Baha'i.
- ¹⁷ Clegg and Rosie, *Faith Communities and Local Government in Glasgow*.
- ¹⁸ There are also inter faith groups in Aberdeen, Dundee, Dumfries, East Renfrewshire, Edinburgh, Fife, Shetland, and Skye. Of these the most active is Edinburgh Inter-Faith Association which has a vibrant programme of activities.
- ¹⁹ This development which is jointly funded by Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Government has come later in Scotland than in other parts of the UK: 'In 2003, 44% of local authorities in England and Wales had an officer responsible for liaison with faith groups and/or faith issues.' *Local Inter Faith Activity in the UK: A Survey* (London: Inter Faith Network for the UK, 2003), ix.

- ²⁰ The difference between these two terms is important. ‘Inter Faith’ means ‘interaction between separate faith traditions’ and ‘multi faith’ is ‘a descriptive statement about a project or organisation that many faiths are involved in’ (<http://www.interfaith.co.uk/localguide.htm>). Multi faith work allows groups that have profound differences in belief to work alongside one another guided by the tenets of their particular faith.
- ²¹ Raza, *Weaving The Tartan*.
- ²² See SIFC website at <http://home2.btconnect.com/sifc/>.
- ²³ <http://www.eifa.org.uk/>.
- ²⁴ This is organised jointly by Neill Walker, Edinburgh International Centre for Spirituality and Peace and Neil Douglas-Klotz, Edinburgh Institute for Advanced Learning.
- ²⁵ See http://www.communitiesscotland.gov.uk/stellent/groupspublic/documents/csnews/cs_015685.hcsp [accessed on 4 December 2007].
- ²⁶ Where a group becomes co-mingled with the host culture to such an extent that their culture and identity disappears.
- ²⁷ In which the group is systematically driven out or killed.
- ²⁸ For an excellent exploration of these themes see Mirolsav Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace: A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness and Reconciliation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996).
- ²⁹ Liechty and Clegg, *Moving Beyond Sectarianism*, 195–204.
- ³⁰ ‘It is God’s design to gather all creation under the Lordship of Christ (cf. Eph 1:10), and to bring humanity and all creation into communion.’ WCC, *The Nature and Mission of the Church: A Stage on the Way to a Common Statement*; Faith and Order Paper no. 198 (Geneva: WCC, 2005), http://www.oikoumene.org/fileadmin/files/wcc-main/documents/p2/FO2005_198_en.pdf [accessed 9 July 2007], §34.
- ³¹ 2 Cor 5:18.
- ³² As for example in the medieval Crusades, the Spanish Inquisition or the various phases of the Reformation in England and Ireland which targeted both Catholics and Protestants.

- ³³ This is the definition which I developed with my colleague the Mennonite historian and conflict theorist, Joseph Liechty, in our work on sectarianism and was originally published in Liechty and Clegg, *Moving Beyond Sectarianism*, 292.
- ³⁴ Scottish Government, *Sectarianism: Action Plan on Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland*, 10–12.